

—L. B., in "The Proletarian,"

The International Socialist.

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE
AUSTRALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

RAY EVERITT, Managing Editor.

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ager "I.S.", 115 Goulburn St., Sydney,
N.S.W."When Socialism
Comes."

We are not greatly concerned as to the
details of life "under socialism." Whether
men and women will be able to satisfy
their various wishes, whether they
will be able to find in themselves in-
spective of the activities and needs of
others are matters of little concern.
Nevertheless, the Socialist propagandist
is frequently asked these questions, and
though his patience be taxed to the break-
ing point, he must be in a position to
conceive his questions that these are
problems of the future, and can only be
met when they arise, and that further-
more, the state of mind that prompts
these questions springs from a basis that
will be completely altered "when social-
ism comes."

Since primitive communism ceased to
be a fact, and was replaced by a social or-
ganisation on a territorial basis, that is,
on a private property basis, the whole
outlook of mankind has been in accord-
ance with that fundamental basis. The
consequent division of society into those
who own property, and those who do not,
meant the introduction and growth of a
mentality, a moral, and legal code, suited
to the maintenance of this division of
property. Our ideas today are reared
upon such a basis. Obviously, since So-
cialism stands for the abolition of pri-
vate ownership in the means of existence,
the ideas now current in the world will
also be dissolved, to be replaced by a new
set of ideas, the basis of which will be
communistic, in keeping with the highest
development of machine production. The
point that can now be seen is that many
of the needs of the people today will
cease to be needs "under socialism."

One of the notions that prompts nu-
merous questions as to "life under so-
cialism" is that men and women are
"free" to act under the present regime.
Without here going into the question in
detail, let it be said that for the work-
ing class there is neither freedom, nor
right, civil or moral, as pointed out above,
those ideas are but the product of the
needs of a dominant class. Under no
system of social organisation could men
have less "liberty," less "freedom" than
under capitalism. Those who desire, and
foolishly imagine, that socialism means
bureaucratic domination, or that they will
have "absolute" freedom, show a com-
plete disregard for the past history of the
human race. The former forget that the
fundamental basis of society having been
altered, a bureaucracy ceases to be neces-
sary, while the latter fail to realise that
very great factor in human advancement,
Mutual Aid.

Finally, it must be stated that a social
division of so long a duration as the pre-
sent, cannot be obliterated by a coup
d'etat, when the very ideas of the eter-
nity of private property have become so
ingrained in the civilisation of the world
as to seem innate in the human race.
Generations must live and die before man-
kind can attain the ingenuousness of the
savage.—A.T.B.

Japanese Communists
to the Russian
Comrades

We, the Japanese Communists in Amer-
ica, send our warmest greetings to our
Russian Communist Comrades upon the
second anniversary of their successful re-
volution.

We are greatly indebted to the Rus-
sian Comrades who are fighting for the
Proletarian Republic not only of Russia,
but also of the world, under the most dif-
ficult and trying conditions that are press-
ed upon them by the brutal imperialistic
Allies.

This struggle and heroic and enthusias-
tic fight against the worst reactionary
capitalistic and imperialistic powers is all
for the world's proletariat.

We hereby celebrate the second anni-
versary of the Russian Socialist Repub-
lic.

We congratulate our Russian comrades
upon all in their splendid display of en-
thusiasm exhibited in the actual work of
building the new Socialist Republic in
spite of all the obstacles and difficulties.

Their constructive works already so far
advanced, will encourage the workers of
the world in their struggle against
their own exploiters and oppressors.

Russian Soviet Republic has become
now the guiding spirit and living ex-
ample that is causing the working masses
everywhere to realise what a great
possibility and hope there is in the Soviet
system for them!

The Socialist Revolution was victorious
not only in Russia, but also in other capi-
talistic countries. See how those capital-
istic and imperialistic governments are
rapidly losing their heads and proceeding
to adopt the unusual methods to sustain
their lost cause against the ever-growing
proletarian power.

Capitalism, indeed, is in the death
struggle. It faces the rising power of the
proletariat who are guided by the Rus-
sian Communist comrades.

It is a fitting occasion, for us, the Japa-
nese Communists, in congratulating our
Russian comrades upon the second anni-
versary of the Russian Soviet Republic
and the November Bolshevik Revolution
to make a report to them upon the con-
dition of the Japanese workers at home.

Thanks to the Russian revolution, the
Japanese workers have awakened, and
since August, 1918, the mouth of the great
food riots all over the country, they are
revolving against the ruling classes in
strikes and riots.

The latest development of our workers'
tactics in fighting the greedy employers
is something very interesting. They wisely
adopted a sabotage, a passive form of
sabotage, which has been proving a great
success to them.

Recently this form of labor fight was
conducted successfully by 15,000 work-
ers at Kawasaki ship yard at Kobe. The
method they adopted was sabotage for
ten days. Every worker reported at the
ship yard as usual, all 15,000 on duty get-
ting, of course, wages, but actually pro-
ducing nothing!

Thus they earned not only wages, but
also 8-hour day with 10 hour pay and
even increase of this pay.

This has now proved to be the best
form of fight against employers in Japan,
for the law and police cannot reach the
workers and there is no need of strike
funds. The sabotage has now become a
vogue in Japan.

It is also reported that some Japanese
soldiers have joined the Bolsheviks in Si-
beria; and much propaganda is being car-
ried on there and also in Japan. The
latter by the returning soldiers from Si-
beria, Japanese comrades with under-
ground literature. Also there are some
Russian Bolsheviks in Japan.

It is also reported that the Korean up-
risings of last spring was the direct re-
sult of propaganda of the Bolsheviks.

It is admitted by the Japanese army
authorities that the anti-Japanese move-
ments in China have been converted into
a Bolshevik movement. Their principles
are all those of Bolshevism, and their
leaders are utilising the masses already
roused against the Japanese Imperial-
ists to turn them against the rich and the
Peking Government.

These and many other happenings in
Japan are the direct influence of the
Russian Soviet System, and so we send the
warmest greetings and congratulations to
the Russian Soviet Republic.

Long live the Russian Soviet Republic!
Long live the Communist International.

S. NONAKA,
UNZO TAGUCHI,
SEN KATAYAMA,The Committee of the Japanese
Communist Group in America.

Report of Annual Conference

CONFERENCE REPORT.

Conference proceedings eventuated in the
Sydney Branch Hall, and the First Session
was called for Saturday, the 27th December, at
9 a.m.

Com. C. Hill was appointed Chairman.
Com. G. Morris was appointed Minute Sec-
retary.

Delegates were present as follows:
Com. C. Hughes—Thirroul Branch.
Com. E. R. Browne—Corrimal Branch.
Com. J. Hitchin—Scarborough Branch.
Com. Mrs. Reardon—Newcastle Branch.
Com. G. Neilson—Coburg Branch.
Com. W. J. Thomas—Sydney Branch.
Com. C. Jackson—Sydney Branch.
Com. B. Cathnor—Kaitiaki Branch.

Also, Coms. R. Everitt, Editor "I.S." and
A. S. Reardon, Gen. Sec. Treas.

Barrier Branch appointed a Delegate, but
he failed to put in an appearance.

The General Secretary's Annual Report was
read and received.

The whole of the Delegates having reported
on behalf of their Branches, the Resolutions as
per Agenda Paper were then dealt with as
follows:—

RESOLVED: That Conference report
Principles, Policy and Constitution on lines
laid down by recent Unity Conference with
the S.L.P. Carried.

Conference then went into Committee to
deal with the revision with the result that
their findings as in No. 10 adopted will be read as
follows:—

PRINCIPLES AND POLICY.

Objective.

The Social ownership and control of the
means of production and distribution.

Statement of Principles.

The present form of Society rests on private
ownership of the land and the machinery
(tools) of production.

The owners of most of the land and machin-
ery of production constitute what is economi-
cally known as the capitalist class. Hence the
use of the term, "The capitalist form of so-
ciety."

This form of ownership divides society in
all countries into two distinct and opposing
classes—the capitalist class and the working
class.

The working class produces all value, whilst
it only receives sufficient to enable it to carry
on production (i.e. a living wage). The rest
of the value is appropriated by the capitalist
class, and is known as surplus value.

Thus a conflict of interests is set up over the
division of this value, each class striving to
obtain possession of a greater portion. This
conflict of interests betrays a never ceasing
struggle known as the class war, some version
or other of the working class being over-
powered in actual conflict.

Political Action and the State.

The struggle forces the workers to organise
on the industrial field. But this organisation
inevitably produces political consequences.

The State, that combination of legal, police
and coercive forces, which is directed by
the Government (the executive of the capital-
ist system), is the weapon with which the cap-
italist class defeats the workers on the indus-
trial field. Finding themselves in conflict with
the State, the workers are forced to find po-
litical expression for their class interests.

Inasmuch as industrial action produces po-
litical consequences, the A.S.P. recognises the
use of revolutionary political action on the
above basis, as distinct from the palliative
non-revolutionary parliamentary or non-revolution-
ary parties, to be employed to bring complete
overthrow of the capitalist system.

As to Unionism.

The A.S.P. declares that the basis of Indus-
trial Unionism lies on the basis of the
class struggle for revolution, and recog-
nises the necessity for both Political and In-
dustrial Action to abolish the Capitalist Class
State and institute the Socialist Republic.

As to Economic Interpretation of History.

The A.S.P. pledges itself to the economic
interpretation of history.

As to Militarism.

The A.S.P. declares itself uncompromis-
ingly hostile to all forms of militarism and
armaments which are used to buttress Cap-
italism.

RULES.

1. Name.

The name of the Party shall be the Aus-
tralian Socialist Party.

2. Headquarters.

The headquarters of the Party shall be such
place as the Conference shall fix upon.

3. Officers.

The officers of the Party shall consist of a
General Secretary, General Treasurer, two
Trustees, and Editor, all of whom shall be
elected by a vote of the Party, and must be
financial members of the Party for six months.

No employer of labor shall be eligible as a
Party candidate for Parliament, nor shall he
act as a delegate on Conference, or occupy
any official position in Party or Branches.

4. Election of Officers.

A ballot for the positions of officers of the
party shall be taken as soon as possible after
the end of the financial year (December 31st).
Nominations shall be called for when the An-
nual Report and Balance Sheet are submitted
to branches.

The Report and Balance Sheet shall be is-
sued not later than the end of January. The
Central Executive shall count the ballot.

Branches shall nominate a candidate for
each office at a special meeting, of which at
least seven days' notice has been given. A
simple majority shall count in all ballots.

5. Suspension of Officers.

The Central Executive may suspend any
Party Officer who does not fulfil his duties in
the interest of the Party. When such suspen-
sion takes place the said officer shall have
the right to appeal to Branches, and the Cen-
tral Executive shall forward to Branches a
printed statement of the facts in connection
with both sides of the case. If a majority vote
of members in Branches upholds the suspen-
sion, the suspended officer shall be recalled,

and his or her place filled for the term
of the term of office by Central Executive.

6. Vacancies.

If any extraordinary vacancy occurs in
Party officers through sickness, resignation,
recall, or other causes, such vacancy shall
be filled by the Central Executive at a
Meeting called for the purpose.

7. Central Executive.

The Central Executive shall consist of
General Secretary, General Treasurer,
Trustees, Editor (with voice, but no vote),
representatives appointed on the ratio of
representation by each Branch, upon the termination of the
Conference, and such Representatives shall
remain in office until recalled, or until the
subsequent Annual Conference. The mem-
bers of the Central Executive shall have a vote
equal to the number of members in their
Branches, and for which sustentation fees
have been paid. The Central Executive shall
not less than once a month. Its duties shall
other than upon urgent and formal
business shall be referred to Branches for ap-
proval. Delegates shall report to the
Branches every month. The Executive
shall make a quarterly report to the
Branches unable to send delegates to the
meetings shall have the right to elect
delegates. These delegates shall be elected
the same methods as other delegates to
carry the same voting power.

8. Annual Conference.

An Annual Conference shall be held
whenever decided upon by a majority
of Branches, or the Central Executive, at
least six months before the date of compo-
sition.

The Central Executive shall call the
Annual Conference at least three months before the date of
meeting must reach headquarters not later
than one month after being called for, and
furnished to branches, within two weeks
except by the Central Executive.

The Conference shall consist of the
General Secretary, General Treasurer, two
Trustees, Editor (with voice, but no vote),
and Delegates from each affiliated Branch
on the following basis:—One delegate for
each 100 members or part thereof.

On all Conference business, that has
been submitted to Branches previous to Confer-
ence, each delegate shall have a card vote equal
to the number of members in his or her
Branch, for which sustentation fees have been paid.

On business introduced by delegates at
Conference, each delegate shall have one vote.
The decision arrived at must be submitted
to Branches for ratification before being
put upon.

Alternate or proxy delegates may be
appointed by Branches. Decisions of Confer-
ence shall be final, but any decision of Confer-
ence may be challenged within four weeks by a
majority of the members of the Branches, and a referendum of the
membership of the Party demanded. All decis-
ions shall remain in force until amended or
reversed upon notice to Conference.

9. Special Conference.

A Special Conference may be convened
upon the demand of two or more Branches, or
the Central Executive, to deal with any
business. The Central Executive shall refer
the matter to Branches, and a majority of
Branches shall decide whether the matter
to be dealt with is important enough to
warrant the calling of a Special Conference.

10. Referendum.

Upon a referendum being introduced by
two or more Branches, or the Central Executive,
the Central Executive shall submit the
matter to Branches, and a majority of
Branches shall decide whether the matter
to be dealt with is important enough to
warrant the calling of a Special Conference.

11. Branches.

Branches shall be self governing within
the provisions of the A.S.P. Constitution,
Rules, Principles and Policy. Branches of
the A.S.P. may be formed by not less than
ten persons who accept the principles and
policy of the A.S.P. by making application to
the Central Executive and receiving endorsement.
All Branches shall have the right to elect
many officers as they deem advisable, but
no member shall be eligible for office, past
honorary, in any Branch established for
more than six months unless a member of
the Party.

Each Branch shall notify the Central Ex-
ecutive of the number of financial members
half-yearly for the purpose of determining
the strength of delegates on Central Ex-
ecutive.

12. Dues.

Branches shall pay 1s. per financial
member per year as sustentation fee, and 3d. per
month per member for the upkeep of the
Press; the same to be paid by purchase of
stamps at 1s. 1d. per dozen from the Cen-
tral Executive. At the end of each year, Branches
shall return unsold stamps and be credited
with same.

No subscriptions shall be received by
Branches without affixing the official Press
stamps to membership cards. When mem-
bers are unemployed or sick, the Secretary of the
Branch shall affix exempt stamps for the pe-
riod applied for.

13. Expulsion of Branches.

Any Branch of the A.S.P. believing that
another Branch has been guilty of a breach
of Rules, Principles and Policy of the A.S.P.
shall have power to move that such Branch
be called upon to show cause to the Central
Executive why its charter should not be can-
celled. Any Branch so challenged shall be
given 28 days' notice of the hearing of such
charges, which shall be submitted to the
Branches by the Central Executive, and in the
event of the decision of the Branches uphold-
ing the charge, the said Branch shall be ex-
pelled by the Central Executive.

Any Branch so expelled from the A.S.P.
shall not be again admitted, except at the
discretion of the Central Executive, subject to
approval by Branches.

OUR CRITICS Bump Some Hard Facts

THE W.I.U. AND PALLIATIVES.

(To the Editor of the "International Socialist".)

In the November 29th issue of the "International Socialist," under the heading of "Slams and Jabs," you made a silly and ridiculous attack upon the W.I.U. by accusing it of hypocrisy and seeking to mislead the workers.

The reason you give for the attack is that it "preaches (to use your own expression) palliatives under the guise of a revolutionary objective." And palliatives you define as demands for increases in wages and reductions in the hours of toil.

You evidently then, as a professing Marxian, do not believe that an economic or industrial organisation of labor should fight the every-day battle of the toilers while organising and strengthening itself for the overthrow of capitalism?

If workers are victimised and starved, we should preach revolution and not urge that in the meantime their workmates should stand by them, to give expression to their class solidarity by putting into practical application the motto "that an injury to one is the concern of all."

Either by the strike or by slowing down on the job? If speeding up takes place as a result of the introduction of new and improved machinery, and our standard of life even reduced below subsistence level by the soaring prices of necessities, we should preach revolution and not resist in the meantime the downward levelling tendency of the capitalist system by demanding increased wages and reduced hours? That according to you, would be side tracking (?) and betraying (?) the workers. It would prove us either "woefully ignorant or wilfully corrupt."

And this nonsense you shamelessly represent as Marxian. I say most emphatically that it is a total misrepresentation of what Karl Marx actually taught. You have been rightly booming "Value, Price and Profit" by Karl Marx. I would suggest in all seriousness that yourself, "Marcia," and W. J. Thomas carry out your good advice to others by reading that work. If you have already done so, read it again, as unfortunately, none of you have yet gripped its contents—particularly the chapter on "Main causes of attempts at raising wages or assisting their fall." And also the closing part of chapter xiv, "The struggle between capital and labor, and its results," and then perhaps you will realize that the W.I.U. position is thoroughly Marxian, whereas your own is the reverse. And if an industrial organisation with an admittedly revolutionary objective is not revolutionary, but reformist, it believes in fighting the toilers' battle for increased wages, etc.

(as you have been continuously asserting since your tutor, Mr. Baritz, took you in hand). Then by the same logic of reasoning Karl Marx is a reformer rather than a revolutionist. I challenge you to show the difference. "Organise for revolution and the capitalist class will look after the palliative part of the business." Agreed. But do not forget that the palliatives offered are a bribe—a prize—the capitalist class are willing to pay for "industrial peace and harmony," the workers to give up the right to strike and to acquiesce in their new exploitation and robbery. Whereas that which is forced from the capitalist class involves no compromise or surrender to the enemy of the workers' efforts to win their own emancipation.

You surely would not suggest that the workers (who are not yet in a position to achieve the revolution or their emancipation) to give up their struggle for more wages and reduced hours and accept the bribes. Your absurdities—miscalled arguments against the W.I.U. position—gives one that impression.

On the other hand, your publication of an exposure of the Whitley Scheme dispels it. Your position then is this—don't fight for increased wages and reduced hours, etc., don't accept capitalist bribes; fight for revolution.

But in so far as we are not yet in a position to achieve it, how about meeting the downward levelling tendency of the capitalist system, which, if not resisted, will so degrade the workers as to unfit them to accomplish the revolution? WILL you or your tutor, Baritz, answer?

The truth is that you and others have not a clear grasp of Marxian economics; otherwise you would not have swallowed and repeated parrot-like Baritz's nonsense and blundered on tactics so as to cause disruption, nor passed as sound A.S.P. literature the pamphlet, "The Danger of the Whitley Scheme," which, on page 14, contains such a glaring economic fallacy as to play directly into the hands of the

manufacturing section of the capitalist class. The whole trouble is that you fail to differentiate between a Revolutionary Political Party and a Revolutionary Industrial Organisation. The function of the former is purely propaganda—to secure a decision or a verdict in favor of the revolution, the change from capitalism to socialism—hence no palliative platform. The issue must be clear-cut—the abolition of capitalism. But the latter must, and is best fitted, to look after and protect the immediate economic or material interests of the workers while organising, training and disciplining them for the control of industry on behalf of the whole community.—Yours for the revolution,

M. FEINBERG.

Dear Comrade.—As Marxian Socialists we believe that "an economic or industrial organisation" of the workers should fight the every-day battle of the toilers against the "downward levelling tendency of the capitalist system," and we understand that the craft union, being the product of an earlier stage of the system's development, is unable to serve the workers in the fight against a higher developed capitalism. Therefore we stand firm for Industrial Unionism. As Marxian Socialists we insist at all times on pointing out to the workers the cause of their having incessantly to fight this downward tendency, and the only solution for that and all the other ills of the present day society. Hence to the words Industrial Unionism must be added the all-important one, REVOLUTIONARY. What we as Marxian Socialists object to is that an organisation which merely replaces craft unionism as an absolute necessity in the parallel growth of the capitalist class and its concomitant, the proletariat, should claim to be a revolutionary weapon on the sole ground of its having adopted a revolutionary objective. If an industrial union is to include the whole proletariat in its ranks (which it cannot do) it would not be able to function in a revolutionary capacity.

As Marxian Socialists we refuse to state in a categorical manner the nature and form of the weapon that will be necessitated to turn a crisis of the present system to revolutionary account. But we do maintain in the most categorical terms that any movement, if it is to be a REVOLUTION and not a REVOLT, will have to be a class movement. For that reason organisation must be upon a basis of proletarianism and not upon that of industry.

We cannot agree that the forcing of the workers to a lower economic position will unfit them to accomplish the social revolution. In a measure the contrary is the case: economic pressure will inevitably be a powerful factor in making the working class susceptible to revolutionary propaganda. Furthermore, this same economic pressure, when it will produce revolt amongst any section of the workers, will be met by the capitalist class with palliatives—whether there be industrial unions or not.

To sum up, our correspondent fails completely to differentiate between a Revolutionary Political Party and a Revolutionary Industrial Organisation, and the needs of the workers as a result of the processes of capitalist production. A Revolutionary Political Party is just a little more than a propagandist body; it is a plastic weapon in the hands of the class-conscious, capable of being moulded to the changing needs of the proletariat, either in times of comparative industrial peace or intense economic crisis. It is this fact that all those who criticise the position of the A.S.P. do not understand.—Ed., "I.S."

A Russian Question

(To the Editor, "International Socialist".)

Dear Comrade,—I am very sorry that the necessity is forced on me to have to write again.

It seems to me that the more explanations you give on the matter the more misleading are the statements you make.

With regard to your answer in last issue of "I.S." on my complaint, it is a very contradictory one, and very hard to understand what your answer is.

You stated: "As to the Bolsheviks being revolutionary, we have made no attempt to state otherwise, but this in no way disproves the fact that they were elected by members of the S.D.P., and in condemning the Mensheviks, the Bolsheviks condemned the S.D.P., for that party

contained them." (Also that party contained the Bolsheviks.)

It may be my misfortune of grasping good English, that I fail to understand how (according to your reasoning) the Bolsheviks could condemn the S.D.P. without condemning themselves as a part of that party. According to your explanation the Bolsheviks were revolutionists and reformers at the same time.

It should not be the answer of a Revolutionary Socialist paper, the object of which is the education of the working masses.

If the Bolsheviks were revolutionary, then being elected as members of the S.D.P. proves that the S.D.P. was a revolutionary party. On the other hand, if the S.D.P. was not a revolutionary party then the Bolsheviks being elected as members of that party were not revolutionary.

Now I am going to prove that the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party was the revolutionary party; also I am going to prove your ignorance (of not perhaps English) but European conditions—particularly Russian—and the error you made, which is a result of it, I shall give you two quotations from a book, written by Comrade Kamneff, and issued officially by the Bolshevik section of the S.D.L.P. in Paris in 1911 under the title of "Two Parties," with preface by Lenin. In this preface he says:—

"The book of Comrade Kamneff is a collection of work relating to the struggle in the counter revolutionary epoch, which the Bolsheviks, and after it, the whole Russian Social Democratic Party had with Liquidatorism. Com. Kamneff completely proved that the Liquidators' group in reality is a separate party, not R.S.D.L.P. These conclusions summed up the experiences mostly of 1909 and 1911. Such experiences confirmed the December resolution of 1908. In this resolution which was moved and carried on behalf of the R.S.D.L.P. by the Bolsheviks, it was declared that the liquidators endeavored to substitute the R.S.D.L.P. by a "formless" legal unity. (Just imagine what sort of a legal unity they could have under the Tsar's reign.—V. P.)

Now this formless legal unity of Messrs. Petrossoff, Larin, Levitsky and Co. (in conjunction with Martoff) and the followers of the "Golos Social Democrat" (the Menshevik organ.—V. P.) quite showed itself.

This having nothing in common with the R.S.D.L.P. group of journalists who were propagating, not Social Democratic, but Liberal Labor Politics. They are workers of the reactionary "Labor Party."

The Liquidators are not only opportunists (like Bernstein and Co.), they, besides this, are building a SEPARATE party, they declared that their slogan is ABOLITION of R.S.D.L.P. They never abided by the decision of the R.S.D.L.P.

And this is what Comrade Kamneff says on the matter:—

"The Russian Social Democratic Labor Party decided to defend its right for existence as organising vanguard of the Working Class, a keeper of the revolutionary covenants of the Great Russian Revolution as a security of a newly risen, never stopping onward movement of the Russian Working Class.

"The struggle was so difficult as never before experienced. On one hand from the Labor Party movement broke away her recently allied intellectuals, who were disappointed in their hope, and turned from the Working Class to give themselves to liberal ideology, and legalise "crumb picking" (reforms) or locked up in the intellectual anarchistic sects, where a revolutionary phrasology lived perfectly together, with the pure cultural character of their conception of the object of the Working Class Movement. And religious-estate conception of an intellectual took revenge for the recent obedience to the hegemony of the Materialist Conception of the Fighting Proletariat.

"On the other hand economic crises and political suppression weakened the very foundation of the party amongst the broad masses of the working class. And added to this the triumph of the bourgeois influence amongst the intellectuals who were not so long ago claiming themselves Social Democrats, and the fall of the class activity of the workers. It became possible now for an appearance and formation of large and smaller groups to break away from the R.S.D.L.P.

"This parting with revolutionary Marxism and presenting their claim for leadership of the working class movement.

"The common likeness amongst those "independent" from R.S.D.L.P. intellectuals was this, that the right and the "left" of these groups similarly appeared propagandists of non-Social Democratic conceptions. This flow of reaction threatened to wash the Revolutionary Social Democracy from the political arena, and it took all the energy of the party, all the energy of the advanced workers, to de-

Continued on page 4.

14. Membership.
A member may belong to any Branch, and membership cards shall be interchangeable with minimum subscription of 1s. 3d. per month for men, and 9d. per month for women at 1 persons under the age of 18 years. Applicants for membership in any Branch shall sign a declaration endorsing the principles and policy of the A.S.P., and their special application shall be subject to the approval of a general meeting of the Branch concerned. No member shall belong to any other political organisation, but this provision shall not debar membership for purely industrial purposes in Trades Unions which are primarily industrial. Any member shall have the right to speak at the meeting of any Branch, but shall only exercise voting power at the Branch of which he or she is a member. No member shall be enrolled for more than one Branch.

Where no branch exists, members may enroll through the Central Executive as members at large.

No member under the age of 18 years shall be permitted to vote on Principles and Policy, Rules and Constitution, or any Party or Branch business.

Any member who has fallen three months in arrears, after having been given one month's notice by the Branch Secretary, shall be considered unfinancial, and be struck off the books, unless arrears have arisen through unavoidable causes.

15. Membership Declaration.

I, the undersigned, having read the Principles and Policy of the A.S. Party, which I unreservedly endorse, hereby apply for membership in the Branch of the A.S. Party. I further declare that I am not a member of or connected with, directly or indirectly, any Political organisation or Party, other than the A.S. Party, and that I will render no support to any other Political organisation or Party.

16. Expulsion of Members.

Any officer or member of the A.S.P., believing that any member has been guilty of a breach of the Rules or Principles or Policy of the Party, shall have power to move that the said member be called upon to show cause to the Branch to which such member belongs, why he or she should not be expelled or otherwise penalised. The Branch shall appoint a date for the hearing of the charge, of which at least 11 days' notice in writing shall be given to such member, and if satisfied that the charge has been proved, and if it is of sufficient gravity, the Branch may suspend, or expel, such member from membership. Any member so suspended, or expelled, shall have the right to claim that the papers in connection with the case shall be sent on to the Central Executive, who shall, finally hear and determine such case.

Branches shall notify the Central Executive of any expulsions.

Any member expelled from the A.S.P. shall not again be admitted to membership except at the discretion of the Central Executive or Conference.

17. As to Other Political Parties.

No member of the A.S. Party shall stand as other than the candidate of the A.S. Party; a member before being eligible for nomination as a candidate must be a member of the Party for twelve months.

No Member of Branch of the A.S.P. shall enter into any alliance, temporary or permanent, with any other political party. Socialist candidates shall be selected by the Branches concerned, and where no Branch exists by the Central Executive, and before running be endorsed by the Central Executive, to which the candidate shall pledge himself. The Central Executive will call for nominations for the Senate.

All candidates elected under the auspices of the party to Federal or State Parliaments shall be subject to recall in the event of their failure to uphold the principles, platform and methods of the party.

The recall is to be decided upon by a majority vote of the members of the party, after the member or members charged have had an opportunity of meeting the charges brought against them.

Before a member's name can go to a ballot for selection as a candidate he shall place in the hands of the General Executive a resignation of that position, with date space blank, to be held until such time as the member is adjudged, in accordance with the preceding rule, to have failed to uphold the principles, platform and methods of the party, when the date shall be filled in and the resignation forwarded to the proper quarter. He shall also sign a declaration to the effect that he is in accordance with these rules and conditions and signs the resignation of his own free will.

DECLARATION.

The declaration shall read as follows:—In accordance with rule — of this Constitution of the A.S.P., with which I fully agree, without any reservation whatsoever, I do, of my own free will, sign the resignation of the office of

Signed

Witness

No member shall be deemed to be selected as a candidate to represent this party in an election—Federal or State—until his resignation and accompanying declaration shall have been forwarded to the General Executive, and shall have been endorsed by that body.

All members elected to Parliament (Federal or State), or other public bodies, shall at least once a month, or when directed by the General Executive, render to the members an account of their acts. And shall carry out all instructions of the General Executive. And shall resign their positions in the event of their recall being demanded.

Any member of the Party holding a public position—Federal or State—shall not retain office in the Party, unless a majority of members voting by ballot otherwise decide.

In the event of a member of the A.S.P. being elected to Parliament, that member shall attend Parliamentary sessions as instructed by the General Executive, and during recess be at the service of any Branch for agitation and propaganda purposes after application has been made by such Branch to the Central Executive.

18. Official Newspapers and Pamphlets.
"The International Socialist" shall be the central and official organ of the A.S.P.

The Official Organ or any newspaper or magazine the property of the party, shall be under the direct control of the General Executive. They shall advocate only the principles, demands, and methods of the party as laid down by its members.

(Continued on next page)

find before this flow the R.S.D.L.P. And now, in spite of all, we can declare the R.S.D.L.P. exists, and will exist, as organising vanguard of the Working Class, forgetting not the revolutionary battles of the past and understanding its object in the future."

I think that will be enough to convince you that you took a wrong attitude towards R.S.D.L.P.

With regard to the Duma being a non-legislative body, you are again mistaken. The Duma, though limited in power and reactionary, functioned in a legislative capacity, as the following will show:—

Section 44 of the fundamental law reads:—

"No legislation can be passed without the approval of the Duma and Senate and Tsar."

If it were not legislative, would a resolution of the S.D.L.P. in 1908 for the third Duma, re-approved in 1912, as follows:—

"The fundamental object of the S.D. Social Democratic faction in the third counter-revolutionary Duma is, to be one of the party's organs, serving for Social Democratic propaganda, agitation and organisation, but by no means to accept the way of POSITIVE LEGISLATION pursuing the small pretended reforms."

Now, I think, this question is quite cleared, and the statement in Moses Baritz's article I took objection to is wrong, as far as Russia is concerned, providing you take Russia as a European country.

Yours for revolutionary education,

V. PETRUCHENIA.

P.S.—When the Bolsheviks changed the name from S.D.L.P. to Communist Party, it does not mean that they repudiate revolutionary principles of R.S.D.L.P. They did that to avoid confusion of different ideas amongst the workers, because reactionary forces were trading under the same name; likewise the W.I.L.U. changed its name under the same circumstances, but nobody will argue that they changed the principles of the original I.W.W.—V.P.

A careful examination of the correspondence on this question leads unavoidably to the conclusion that Comrade Petruchenia has taken up the cudgels on behalf of the R.S.D.L.P. in an attitude of "My Country Right or Wrong"—that the party simply must have been correct in its position, that it was absolutely impossible that it should have contained any non-revolutionary tendencies, with whom there co-operated elements, which were at all times in advance of the former, and which subsequently proved themselves straight-out revolutionaries.

In the first place it is stated that if the Bolsheviks were revolutionary, then the S.D.P. must have been revolutionary, and that if the S.D.P. was not a revolutionary party, then the Bolsheviks could not have been revolutionary. The error in this will be seen by an alteration of names thus: If those now in the I.S.L.P., when still in the A.L.P., had claimed to be revolutionary, and were actually so, would the A.L.P. be thereby constituted a revolutionary party? Also, the A.L.P. being a reform party, would it follow that all its parliamentary members were exclusively reformist? What is not seen in this sort of "argument" is that it is neither individuals nor programmes that makes a party revolutionary, but the actions of the party as an organisation in relation to working class problems. Even members of the Bolsheviks have wandered up blind allies. We refer Comrade Petruchenia to an article which he himself translated for "Knowledge and Unity" (Brisbane, Dec. 27, 1919) under the heading "Two Lines of Revolution," in which Lenin criticises Trotsky for "helping the Liberal Labor Politician in Russia," and instances the "confusion of Trotsky." There could be no better proof of than this of the fact that it was necessary for Lenin to insist on a No-Compromise policy for the Bolsheviks, who frequently showed inclinations to come to "strategic understandings" with Liberalism. We must have no gods in the Socialist movement, Lenin, Trotsky, nor S.D.L.P.

The quotation from Kanneff merely states that there were many groups that broke away from the R.S.D.L.P.; that this party lost its hold upon the broad masses of the working class owing to political suppression and economic crises, and ends with the heartfelt conviction that the party was at that time still the actual vanguard of the Russian proletariat: it in no way proves the point intended. The fact that there was a weakening of the "very foundations of the party amongst the broad masses of the people" indicates a serious fault in the make-up of the party.

Neither this quotation nor the extract from the preface by Lenin show that the S.D.L.P. did not retain any pseudo-revolutionary elements, while the fact that

'Marx--The Infallible Prophet'

In conducting a discussion it is certainly an advantage when one fails in argument, to resort to gallery play, as "We fully realise that there are many who would quote anything to justify their attitude, just the same as Marx is quoted by those who understand his works the least," etc., but this method of dealing with an opponent 'cuts no ice' with the intelligent reader who seriously reads and mentally weighs the points brought forward. My knowledge of Marx may be limited, and therefore, I bow to Comrade Everitt's superior knowledge without stooping to question it.

Before dealing with the matter put forward by Comrade Everitt, allow me to state that I believe the Russian Revolution to be a proletarian success, because history has taught me that an intelligent minority can wield and control the back ward majority—given certain conditions. Marx, on the contrary, inferred that society must follow certain lines of development before it can hope to accomplish a state of communism. Therefore, the orthodox Marxist must either rid himself of his dogma or otherwise admit that the Russian Revolution is purely bourgeois. Comrade Everitt says in reply: "We deny the bald statement that Russia jumped the stages of capitalist development, for whilst Russia was backward in this respect, owing to the fact that it was an agrarian country, capitalism had developed to a great extent." This is equivalent to saying it is, it isn't, it is partly so.

Marx, when dealing with the development of society did not infer that, because we have in Australia industries on a par with American industries that we were developed to the extent of the U.S.A. industrially. No, he dealt in a general sense. "The country that is more developed industrially, only shows to the less developed the image of its own future."

Let us take the "Times Book of Russia," published in 1915 for the purpose of pointing out to the English capitalist the vast field of exploitation offered by Russia, just to convince A.S.P. comrades that Russia had in no way developed industrially, comparatively speaking. A few extracts should suffice:—

"The most developed industry in Russia is the textile industry, which possesses 9,212,557 spindles, as against Great Britain's 56,000,000. Between 85 to 90 per cent. of the machinery used in the textile trade is of English make, and again 75 per cent. of the machinery used in the engineering trades is of English and German manufacture. In Russia there are 12,000,000 peasants engaged in manufacturing in their homes in conjunction with their agricultural work equivalent to the domestic system in vogue in England prior to the advent of capitalism, producing goods to the value of more than £100,000,000."

Why quote further, comrades, to endeavour to prove an obvious fact. Did France pour nearly 700 millions, and England and Germany many millions more, into a country to develop that which was already developed? Certainly not.

Comrade Everitt further charges me with endeavouring to "twist a fact into a prophecy, and quotes in full the para-

the foundations of the party were failing indicates that it actually did retain such elements, and as we insisted in our notes in the issues of November 1, and December 6, that element was present in the form of the Mensheviks.

Was the Duma a legislative body? Yes, cries Comrade Petruchenia. But elsewhere he says No. Let us quote an explanatory parenthesis inserted into the article referred to above by Petruchenia.

("Under pressure of the Labor movement that was highly developed in the year, the Government, to appease the workers' demands, appointed a bureaucrat—Buligan—to deal with the question of representation of the people in the Council Duma, which could not pass away. Legislation acting only in an advisory capacity, the workers therefore boycotted it.—V.P.")

The punctuation as in "Knowledge and Unity."

We could not have found a more thorough backing for our statement, and that from Comrade Petruchenia himself.

(Inasmuch as our correspondent has had ample space to prove his contention, and failed to do so, but has rather been hoist on his own petard, this controversy ceases with this note.—Ed. "I.S.")

graph which originally I had written in full, but decided later to omit the former portion in order to save "I.S." space.

"One nation can and should learn from others, and even when a society has got upon the right track for the discovery of the natural laws of its movement, and it is the ultimate aim of this work ("Capital") to lay bare the economic laws of motion of modern society. It can neither clear by bold leaps, nor remove by legal enactments the obstacles offered by the successive phases of its normal development. But it can shorten and lessen the birth-pangs." (Black type mine), and there lies the whole of my argument. What are these "laws of motion of modern society?" Obviously, we must turn to "Capital" and find out. Banned down it amounts to this: The people are delivered from the soil and forced into the industries. Capitalistic development based on surplus value exploitation—concentration of industry, a centralisation of wealth—decreasing markets owing to capitalistic development in other countries—unemployment—increasing misery of the workers—crises—leading inevitably to the breakdown of capitalism, and the

communism.

"Capitalism is its own grave-digger," says Marx; "it creates the forces which destroy it."

Will Comrade Everitt assert that Russia went through these phases, or will he concede my point?

Our Russian comrade discarded orthodox Marxism, and there lies the secret of their success. Their philosophy, according to Gregor Alexinsky in "Russia and Europe," p. 350, "is a synthesis of three elements: The dialectic philosophy of Germany, the revolutionary practice of France, and the history of the economic evolution of England."

Marx all through his works emphasises the fact that the development of industry is necessary for the development of the proletariat. On page 53 of the "Communist Manifesto," Kerr's edition, he says: "Since the development of class antagonism keeps even pace with the development of industry."

I will now conclude with a quotation from Marx, "Communist Manifesto," page 55, referring to the system of St. Simon, Fourier, and Owen, he says:—and this is applicable to the Marxists of today, 60 years later. "Therefore, though the originators of these systems were, in many respects revolutionary, their disciples, in every case, formed mere reactionary sects. They held fast to the original views of their masters, in opposition to the historical development of the proletariat."

J. RAWSTRONG.

Our reply to Comrade Rawstrong's article will be published next week. (Ed. "I.S.")

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A. S. REARDON, Gen. Sec. Treas.

Funds Wanted.

The Party having decided to put a number of Organisers in the field, requires the financial assistance of A.L. Branches, Members and supporters.

Funds are wanted right NOW, and all Donations should be sent to the General Secretary, A. S. P., 115 Goulburn St., Sydney.

Continued from page 3

The General Executive shall control the issue of all literature, and no member, branch or committee shall issue any leaflet, unless sanctioned by the General Executive.

No branch, member, or committee shall publish any newspaper or magazine without the sanction of the General Executive, and the General Executive shall not sanction the publication of any newspaper or magazine unless it be the property of the party and controlled by a Press Committee appointed by a General Executive.

No branch, member, or committee shall offer or financial support to any newspaper or magazine published to advocate the principles of the party unless owned and controlled by the party. The General Executive shall expel members who directly or indirectly infringe this clause.

The official organ shall be conducted by Editor elected by a vote of the Party, who shall be under the jurisdiction of the Central Executive.

All printed matter (except for business purposes) published by branches must be submitted to the Central Executive, who shall endorse such matter if it is in accordance with the principles and policy of the A.S.P. In the event of such matter being rejected by the Central Executive the branch concerned shall have the right of appeal to branches.

The above clause will not apply to a paper which has been endorsed by the C.E., issued by any branch.

In the event of a paper issued by any branch violating the Principles and Policy of the A.S.P. the charter issued to such branch shall be immediately cancelled by the Central Executive, and the method of determining such charge shall be that provided in Rules 19, Banking Account.

A Banking Account shall be opened in the names of the two Trustees, Treasurer and Secretary, three of whom shall be required for all cheques, and all accounts in connection with the Party shall be paid cheque.

20. Emergency Questions.

When questions arise, such as the following, on which Conference has not been convened, the Executive shall after consulting the members, declare the emergency A.S.P. in connection therewith, and with the decision of the majority of the Party. Such emergency action shall be subject to review by the Party Branches, Members, and shall be subject to review by the Conference.

21. Party Property.

The C.E. shall exercise control over the Party, representative of all Branches, and in the event of any Branch leaving the Party, its property will revert to the Party.

No. 2 Agenda.

That Conference consider the A.S.P. of enlarging the statement of Principles, the cutting out of the Policy, accepted by the Party, and the Party's relation with Unions, State, etc., and the adoption of a Manifesto, pamphlet, size 7/2.

This was withdrawn in favor of an amendment, "That a Manifesto be drawn up."

At a later stage a recommendation of the Central Executive dealing with this matter was dealt with. "That Conference consider the advisability of adopting the 'Manifesto' of the Communist Party of America."

Carried unanimously.

The Manifesto, revised, amended, and adapted to Australian conditions, and adopted in the "I.S." of 1919, was ultimately adopted.

No. 3 Agenda.

As this had been dealt with in detail at No. 1 Conference proceeded to the next question.

No. 4 Agenda.

After considerable discussion the motion was lost. This concluded the Agenda.

The matter of Party Organiser was reviewed, and Delegates will report to Branches of same.

Unity.

The whole of the Party negotiations were reviewed, and as a result a Resolution expressing satisfaction with the actions of the Central Executive in regard thereto, was carried unanimously.

Press.

The Conference decisions on this matter have already been forwarded to Branches. Conference came to a conclusion at midday on Wednesday, Dec. 31st, 1919.